574 the pass immediately relayed the news outside the pass. Within a short time Ta-i came to greet us with a group of more than ten white Lolo slaves in an impressive procession. He brought [431] with him two roosters as a present for a feast and told the interpreter to give us his humble regards. I was surprised that the same Ta-i who had been described to me by the Han-Chinese of Lei-po as fierce and cruel should turn out to be so subdued and polite in our presence. It is obvious that people act differently under different circumstances. No matter whether one is a Lolo or a Han-Chinese, he acts kindly or unkindly depending upon whether he considers the other [21] a friend or enemy.

614 622 554 564 Leadership in the clan village is secured through personal ability, but it also depends upon the amount of support one gets from members of the clan. Generally there are only very few black Lolo in the village, the white Lolo being the majority. The relationship between the two groups will be discussed in Chapter 7, "Class." It suffices to state here that the black Lolo constitute the ruling class and the white Lolo the subject class, and that the class distinction which comes from birth should not be confused or neglected. In Lolo society, [567] a black Lolo considers as slaves not only the white Lolo in his clan, but also those outside the clan. Similarly, a white Lolo, besides serving his own black Lolo master, has to serve any other black Lolo. On the other hand, as white Lolo families far outnumber black Lolo families, even though they recognize all black Lolo as masters, they have considerable influence in the determination of black Lolo leadership. Because of their number, their opinion becomes public opinion.

159 614 622 In the region beyond Wu-chio about some 15 li west of Lei-po is located the village of the Sinicized Hu clan. When Hu Hsing-min was young, his granduncle [father's father's younger brother; see footnote, p. 25] had no children, and so [597] his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family adopted her elder sister's son, A-cho T'ieh-mu, and brought him up in the family. After the death of the granduncle, the grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family intended to make T'ieh-mu an heir to take charge of the Hu village and to manage family properties. T'ieh-mu was quite smart and capable, but the white Lolo refused to obey him; following the Lolo custom, they all rose to support Hsing-min as their leader and succeeded in driving T'ieh-mu out of 159 the village. When Kuo Shun-chih of the Lei-po county was in 622 charge of the government military training camp, Hu Hsing-557 min enlisted and became thoroughly Sinicized. He was friend-177 ly toward the Han-Chinese and contributed a great deal in the

attempt to open up communications between Lei-po and Huang-mao Kang. He used all means to make friends with the Lolo of the En-cha branch to expand his influence. Furthermore, because of his Sinicization, he adopted the Chinese custom of worshipping ancestors both in the direct and the indirect lines [i.e., the line of his granduncle, as well as the line of his father]. Besides his first wife from the Li-ch'ü family, he took another wife from the Wu-ch'i family in the hope of continuing his granduncle's lineage, making his second wife stay with his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family. Hsing-min had good connections with different Lolo branches and his reputation and influence grew day by day. The strong family background of his two wives further enhanced his influence. Because of his multi-connections with the Lolo and Han-Chinese, he became one of the very successful Lolo leaders. Whenever the Han-Chinese living in the Lei-po area mention Hu Hsing-min's name, they all show great respect and admiration for him.

Wu-chio is quite different from other un-Sinicized Lolo areas in that it is near a Chinese city and has been developed by the Han-Chinese. Its inhabitants are all Sinicized Lolo with occasionally some Han-Chinese families living amidst the Lolo, so that it can hardly fail to have Chinese influence in its social organization. It is an important communication center between the Lolo and Han-Chinese, as well as an important pass to Taliang Shan. [22] As such, it will be difficult to reduce the tension between the two groups without an intelligent and capable leader in charge of the place. Hu Hsing-min died about five or six years ago and was survived by two wives and their young children. The wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih) had two young daughters, and the wife from Wu-ch'i (Wu-ch'i shih) had a son still in infancy. Trouble soon started with the loss of the great family leader. Hsing-min had a younger uncle [see footnote, p. 25] in the paternal clan by the name of Hu Ch'ang-pao, who intended to marry Li-ch'ü shih in order to succeed to Hsing-min's position. According to Lolo custom, the wife, after her husband's death, could marry his brother, his paternal younger uncle, his brother's son, or others. But Li-ch'ü shih did not want to remarry, and so she secretly asked her younger brother to kill Ch'ang-pao. The latter's family was weak and had no male member, but his elder maternal cousin [mother's elder brother's son], named Wu-ch'i Ku-pao, announced that he would avenge Ch'ang-pao's death and led his clan members to Wu-chio to engage in a feud. There were several attacks and counterattacks with casualties on

614 both sides. Soon afterwards, through negotiations by some
622 go-betweens, the tension gradually subsided and disappeared.
627 Armed conflict among the Lolo because of a clan feud is very common, sometimes lasting for generations without reconciliation. In Ch'ang-pao's case, however, the feud did not last long because it was not a conflict between two clans. Hsing-min and Ch'ang-pao had a nephew-uncle relationship in the same clan, and any feud within the clan is usually settled according to clan tradition, which stipulates that clan members should not consider each other as enemies. Furthermore, Hu Hsing-min's second wife from the Wu-ch'i family is of the same clan as Wu-ch'i Ku-pao. If she and her family should side with her husband's family to fight against Ku-pao, it would be an intrafamily feud within the Wu-ch'i branch. This kind of hostility, which does not involve one clan against another, divides the strength on each side and so complicates the situation that it could hardly result in a prolonged armed conflict.

614 After the conclusion of Ch'ang-pao's case, the white
622 Lolo subjects [pai-hsing] of the Hu family in Wu-chio, number-
584 ing about a hundred households, were concerned about the ab-
587 sence of leadership in the clan; so they got together and decided to arrange a match between Hsing-min's younger cousin [his father's younger brother's son] and Hsing-min's wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih). Hsing-min had no brother, but only three cousins, the sons of his paternal younger uncle. The eldest cousin, Hsing-lun, was already married, while the youngest was still a child. So only the second of the cousins, Hsing-ch'ao, who was fourteen years old, was legally in line to marry his elder cousin's widow. One day, the white Lolo subjects suddenly took Hsing-ch'ao and pushed him into Li-ch'ü shih's room with the intention of forcing a marriage. Li-ch'ü shih, however, had heard the news and slipped away in time to avoid the match. The Lolo people then took Hsing-ch'ao to the house of Wu-ch'i shih, who accepted him. A year later, a baby girl was born. However, it was not long before Wu-ch'i shih died of sickness.
[736] Today, her father, Wu-ch'i Shih-t'u, has to stay with her family to take care of the two young grandchildren.

614 At present, the ruling power in Wu-chio is entirely in
622 the hands of Li-ch'ü shih, who has been appointed by the Lei-
[624] po county government as head of a special pao [ward]. Her steward, the wa-tzu Ts'ai, makes all outside contacts for her and is known as Ts'ao Pao-chang [the ward headman]. The fact that Li-ch'ü shih is able to exert and maintain her power,

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

000 behavior and attitudes and how they regulate interpersonal obligations and duties.

582 605 Fourthly, Lolo preferential marriage is limited to cross-cousins, including ego and father's sister's daughter or ego and mother's brother's daughter. As to parallel cousins, in addition to father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter and ego are also prohibited from contracting marriage relationships. This prohibition of maternal parallel-cousin marriage is quite different from the Han-Chinese custom and may be due to the Lolo emphasis on the maternal lineage. The children of the maternal aunt are treated in the same way as the children of the paternal uncle. In the Lolo [601] language, mother's sister's children are also addressed as ma dzz gni mo, denoting a relationship similar to that between brothers and sisters. Therefore they are accorded the same treatment.

582 To make it easy to understand, a chart is given on the following page to indicate the marriage relationship or the interdiction of a marriage relationship between brothers and sisters of the same generation and between male and female cousins of different categories.

● 587 Fifthly, the Lolo practice the levirate, which means that a man marries the widow of his deceased brother, whether an elder or younger brother. This tradition is quite different from the Han-Chinese, but may have the same origin as the adelphogamy of the Tibetan people, or a variation of it. As a 587 whole the Lolo levirate tends to keep the womenfolk within the 614 clan. Once a woman has entered a clan, she is not supposed to remarry into another, but can only be transferred by marriage within the clan so that she will remain forever its member.

[53 - Chart appears here.]

687 [54] The levirate is known as "marriage transference within the clan branch." Transferring the marriage to an elder or younger brother of the deceased's generation is considered good form. If there is no blood brother, then a male paternal cousin from the nearest in kinship to the most distant is also acceptable. The practice of marriage transference has had a long history and prevails among the Lolo everywhere. Today the levirate is practiced not only within the same generation, but there is also the practice of the nephew's marrying the widow of father's younger brother or the younger uncle's marrying the widow of brother's son. Cases like these are quite numerous. For example, the wife of our second headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Lao-mu, is En-cha

587 shih, whose parents' family lives in En-cha-wa-hsi. She was first married to the son of Lao-mu's paternal grandfather's younger brother in the Li-ch'ü branch, and bore him a son named Lo-t'ieh. Now twenty years old, Lo-t'ieh is Lao-mu's cousin and only five years younger than Lao-mu. At the time En-cha shih's first husband died, her son Lo-t'ieh was still very young. According to the custom of the levirate, she remarried and became the wife of Lao-mu's father's younger brother, to whom she bore one son now fourteen years old and one girl now eight years old. Four years ago, when his paternal younger uncle died, Lao-mu married the widow, who again gave birth to a female child. So En-cha shih has married three times, but all within her first husband's clan. Her family status and position change each time according to those of her new husband. As to her children, they are ranked according to their father's generation. Thus, Lo-t'ieh is of the same generation as Lao-mu; he has also inherited from his deceased father a house of his own. The children of Lao-mu's paternal uncle now board in the house of Lao-mu's father, Yo-ha. Since his marriage, Lao-mu has a house and an independent family unit of his own.

Marriage transference of a widow is limited mainly to the clan kin of her deceased husband's generation or to his father's younger brother, his brother's son, and others. In the Liang Shan area, there are, however, also cases of the father's marrying son's wife or the son's marrying father's concubine. Cases have even been reported of the grandfather's marrying grandson's wife, but the author never witnessed such a case during his current inspection trip.

The Lolo population is so small that the tradition of marriage transference within the clan branch may also serve the function of solving the population and sex problem. From the standpoint of demography, a woman's remarriage increases the chances for her to have children and clan progeny. From the standpoint of sex, a woman can continue to remarry within the clan after her husband's death — no matter how many husbands she has had — while a man can take a young girl outside the clan or a widow of his own clan for a second wife after the death of the first. For this reason, the Lolo, whether male or female, can have sexual fulfillment in life and there are no widows or widowers in Lolo society. [589]

595 Sixthly, monogamy is the general marriage pattern of the Lolo. Occasionally, but very seldom, they practice polygyny, which moreover is limited to Lolo chiefs and [554] wealthy families

586 wants to divorce his wife, then her family would demand that apologies and payments be made to her. When there is no other alternative, husband and wife can have a divorce and live separately, but first they have to negotiate through a mediator the number of slaves and the portion of land and other property the husband should leave his wife to give her economic independence. When both sides agree, then they can get a divorce. During the husband's lifetime, the di-
587 vorced woman cannot remarry, and her clan cannot hope to transfer her in marriage.

581 614 To sum up, there is a close relationship between marriage and the clan family in Lolo society. Marriage is not a consummation of love between male and female — young lovers do not often become lifelong partners — but is the alliance of two clans and an instrument of their co-operation. At the same time, the economic factors in marriage tend to stabilize family life. Hence marriage is a cooperative interclan contract; with their respective clan backgrounds, husband and wife enjoy equal status in the marriage relationship.

565 This accounts for the perpetual need of additional Wa-tzu by the I of
567 Liang-shan. For hundreds of years, there has always been in this region a hereditary Wa-tzu class. But since its population has remained sparse and the fertility of its soil is low, the only method of increasing the number of Wa-tzu is to capture men and women of other racial groups. In this case all the captives happen to be Chinese, who are the only people living in the surrounding areas. This practice of the I is still being perpetuated today in full force. Some state that the total number of Chinese captives has already reached several tens of thousands (although this figure may be highly exaggerated) and that a considerable number are still being captured at the present time. According to their distribution by the hsien, the largest number of captives are taken from Lei-po, and next from Yung-shan in Yünnan province; captives are also taken from Ma-pien, O-pien, Yüeh-sui, Hsi-ch'ang and others. The general practice of the I is first to separate the captives of the same family or village and to dispatch them to different districts to prevent their joining forces and escaping together. The captor is their first master who may then sell his newly acquired Wa-tzu for silver. After these Wa-tzu have been carried around and sold repeatedly--sometimes throughout the entire region of Liang-shan, having been captured at Lei-po and ending up in Hsi-ch'ang--there would be no means of escape. The family may attempt through a middleman to ransom a captive if it knows his or her whereabouts. In these transactions the I's only concern is silver, and the ransom exacted is always dozens of times higher than the market price at Liang-shan.

584 Strange to say, features of both the Orient and the Occident
591 may be found in the Liang-shan society. As in the West, a son, after his marriage, establishes his own family apart from his parents; as in the East, the family organization is patriarchal, and the parents who are despotic select mates for their sons and daughters. This selection is based on the principle of a suitable alliance in respect to property and wealth--a form of commercial marriage, /114/ typical of an Oriental society. The bride's family usually demands a large settlement in proportion to her own family's wealth. Therefore when an I takes a bride he may be obliged to spend his entire savings and even to go into debt his entire life. For this reason many people cannot
587 marry at all. One of the results is the development of the system of "wife transference" whereby "a younger brother marries his sister-in-law at the death of his elder brother." Although this practice seems

to indicate contempt for womanhood, yet on the other hand, the social custom of the Lolo demands that special respect be shown to their women. In a family the man has unsurpassed power in name yet it is often the woman who has real authority--again a resemblance to the West and a departure from Chinese tradition. These inconsistencies are really quite amusing. A Heh-I, for example, may be contemptuous of the Wa-tzu, but he is always more polite to the female Wa-tzu. During relentless blood-feud fighting, a Heh-I woman may bring about a temporary truce by dashing into the midst of the enemy warriors and swinging her skirt. The continuation of fighting thereafter would be such an insult to the female truce-maker that she may even commit suicide. In this case the enmity between the two camps becomes even greater. It should be noted that this woman need not be a disinterested party, but may belong to one of the opposing camps. Unable to endure any longer the heavy losses, she may take up this responsibility on her own initiative. Mr. Hsü Hsiao-hui once related to us an amusing incident illustrating the respect in which women are held in Liang-shan and the influence they enjoy. During a trip in that region he and his companions arrived at a place where it was necessary to change protectors--a function customarily performed by a man (mostly the head of the family). Unfortunately all the men were out at the moment, and their only recourse was to engage as protector one of the three women left at home. At first Mr. Hsü deplored the situation, for a brave and strong man could at least put up a fight should they encounter danger. But later he was surprised at the special courtesy along the way when the party was seen accompanied by a Heh-I woman; thus they avoided many difficulties and received many unexpected favors.

The Lolo of Liang-shan also have a code of etiquette. They have definite seats around the kuo-chuang while entertaining guests at home. The guest of honor is seated near the back wall and other guests are placed on the side to his right. Regardless of the number of guests, they can sit only on these two sides. The host's place is on the side to the left of the guest of honor, and that of the kuo-chuang Wa-tzu and slave girls is directly across. /115/ By nature the I are silent and dislike clamor; even a group of several tens of them never become boisterous with loud shouting. They are usually soft-spoken and not allowed to sneeze during meals. These good habits which the Chinese lack resemble Western customs. Of all impolite actions they consider breaking wind in the presence of others the most disrespectful. Eliminations are however not forbidden and may be most conveniently